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States has less cause for fear than any other country on earth, and this is due, not to our thirty-three ironclads, but to our own greatness and to the good sense of other nations. [Applause.] What nation would be willing to commit suicide by attacking us? All need our breadstuffs, our oil and our cotton, and remember, also, that the will of the rulers is no longer as arbitrary as it once has been, because it is now circumscribed by the public conscience, the same enlightened sentiment which has prevented a European war for more than a generation and compelled the rulers in every more recent case of trouble to seek a peaceable solution.

As I have said before, America now has the opportunity to lead the world to either peace or war. It depends upon our vote to-day. Arrest armaments and the whole civilized world will heave a sigh of relief. It will be the beginning of the end of what has rightfully been called the "folly of nations." If we stop the others will stop, or will be forced to stop by their suffering people. Sweet words and good resolutions will not do; it is the deed, the actual example of our nation, which alone can afford the relief the world is longing for. And there is not a nation on God's footstool which is in a better position to set that example than is the United States. Do you realize that we have an interest far beyond our own military burdens in the exhaustion and despair of the millions elsewhere? Are they not our customers, and therefore is not a rise or decline of their purchasing power a matter of vital concern to us? Militarism is now consuming, aye devouring, the natural resources of the earth at the rate of two billion dollars a year, hence is impoverishing the people. America suffers under these burdens with the rest, the same as a relief from them would benefit her with the rest. But there is a higher reason which should impel us to lead in this holy cause. We should do the good for the sake of the good, and remain true to America's mission as the champion of liberty, justice and peace, and true to the motto, "Above all nations is humanity." [Loud applause.]

### The Mad International Armament Race.

*From the speech of Hon. James A. Tawney of Minneapolis in the House of Representatives on the Naval Appropriation Bill on February 27.*

*Mr. Chairman:* I did not intend when I came on the floor from the committee room to say anything on the question that is now pending before the committee. But the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hobson] made a very remarkable statement, a statement that should challenge the attention of this House as well as of the entire country, when he said to us that to pursue the policy of two battleships a year will in six years leave us with a less efficient navy than we now have. If this is true, then I submit that it is time for us to pause and consider where we are going in the expenditure of the people's money in building what he and other militarists claim would be an efficient navy, or, as I claim, in spending their money only for the purpose of competing with the nations of the world in this mad international armament race. At the present cost of construction of a single Dreadnought, we will have to spend forty million dollars a year for new ships alone in order to maintain the policy of building

and equipping two battleships each year. And yet we are told by the high priest of war on the floor of this House that, after spending that sum each year for six years more, we will have then a less efficient navy than we have at the present time.

Men talk about the necessity of this expenditure out of fear of Japan. Why, forty million dollars spent a year in this country is as much as Japan proposes to expend in the next six years on her navy! In a recent speech the Premier of Japan, Mr. Katsura, outlined the policy of his government with respect to naval expenditures. From his remarks it will be seen that the annual expenditure which it is proposed to undertake during the coming six years is only sufficient to replace such vessels in her navy as become worthless from usage. This is a conclusive answer to the arguments of the jingoes of this country, who contend that we should greatly increase the size and number of our own battleships in order to keep up the pace being set by Japan and other great nations of the world.

Those who are constantly seeking to compel this government to continue its extravagant expenditures on account of the navy have endeavored to make it appear that public sentiment in Japan is anti-American, and that every citizen of Nippon would welcome the opportunity to try his steel against so formidable an adversary as the United States. They draw their conclusions in this regard from the belligerent utterances of the yellow journals, which unfortunately have their influence in that country as in this. It is therefore interesting to note the opinion of one of the most trustworthy writers on Japanese affairs, the editor of the *Japan Mail*, who was formerly a captain in the British army, and who has been a resident of Japan for about forty years. He is also the accredited correspondent of the *London Times*, and the author of one of the most extensive and valuable historical works on Japan that has yet been published. These are his words:

"If one were deliberately to set oneself to the task of finding some evidence of Japanese designs against the Philippines, one would certainly arrive at the conclusion that there is a total absence of any testimony of the kind. We believe, for our own part, that if the Philippines were offered to Japan as a free gift to-morrow, she would hesitate to accept them, and if they were offered to her at the cost of American friendship she would treat the notion as absolutely ridiculous.

"Japan's resources are already sufficiently taxed in developing Saghalien, Chosen, Formosa and Kwantung, and it is not always remembered that these additions to the Empire or to her sphere of influence necessitate a corresponding dispersal of her forces. This is especially true of the Philippines. Their inclusion in the Japanese empire would greatly increase the latter's responsibility without any corresponding access of wealth.

"The fact is, that a more unsubstantial bugbear has never occupied the attention of intelligent people than this Philippine spectre and its California audience."

In confirmation of this opinion, I will quote the words of Count Okuma, the founder and head of the Liberal Party in Japan:

"All future expansion must be of a peaceful kind. Seizure of territory belonging to other countries, on whatever pretext it may be done, is condemned by public

opinion, and is calculated to arouse hostility throughout the civilized world."

In writing on the subject of the "American-Japanese Relations," a writer in the *Far Eastern Review* says:

"The greatest intrigue of the last decade seems to have for its purpose the undermining of the friendship existing between Japan and America. This propaganda is given publicity in the yellow press of the United States and Japan, and is egged on by a few irresponsible European writers. Little by little there has been created the impression that the interests of Japan and America were bound to clash. Now there is hardly a European writer who takes it upon himself to solve all the troubles that the Far East is heir to who does not declare that it will all end by conflict between Japan and America. While we are reading how France, England and Russia love Japan and are united together to preserve the world's peace, we find a few public men in each of these peace-loving nations declaring how unfortunate it is that America and Japan must proceed to destroy each other. Japan's pride is hurt by misquotations from speeches of prominent Americans, and America's pride is touched by lying reports from the yellow press of Japan.

"Japan must not permit herself to be misled, and if we are not mistaken, the leaders of thought of the empire are not so obtuse. It would be well if the citizens of America would seek the motive behind all this vicious and lying propaganda. It may serve the yellow press of America with a sensation once in a while, but it could not serve so continuously unless there were a purpose behind it. We do not believe that the lying reports of the speeches could have been made unless those who transmitted them were either by nature vicious or of that low order of creatures who so lack principle that they will lend themselves to the services of an organized campaign on the part of interests outside of the United States and Japan to precipitate troubles."

"It behooves the intelligent among the citizens of both nations to maintain great reserve in the reception of reports that serve to create a feeling of antagonism between the two peoples. It is certain that neither Tokyo nor Washington desire a conflict, and, so far as we can see, there is no motive for any change in that attitude."

I am informed that the international Press Association, which includes every representative in Tokyo of American and European journals, at a meeting held in that city recently, adopted a resolution declaring that newspaper men in Japan are unable to discover any basis in the circumstances or sentiment in Japan warranting the disquieting speeches now being made in this country in regard to the alleged warlike attitude of Japan. These newspaper men may be regarded as having voiced the feeling of the general Japanese public. Moreover, Count Komura, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, has expressed the opinion that war with the United States is inconceivable, and that "it would be a crime without excuse or palliation."

In view of the statements which have been made concerning the activity of Japan in building and maintaining a great navy, it is interesting to note the conditions of financial distress which prevail in that country. The recent loss of property through floods has been estimated at from fifty to seventy-five millions, and it will cost many millions to construct embankments which are nec-

essary to prevent a repetition of this disaster. One of Japan's leading statesmen, Mr. Matsuda, recently said: "The people are groaning under the heavy burden of taxation, and the slightest addition will be enough to crush them. The government's first duty is to lessen the burden." While one of the Tokyo papers, in commenting recently on the causes of dullness in business, said: "It is the heavy taxation borne by the people during and since the war that is robbing the people of their purchasing power, and producing depression in the commerce and industries of the country."

Mr. Chairman, there are a great many people in this country who have had the fear of war with Japan dinged into their ears year after year for the past ten years, until they rarely ever sleep at night without their slumbers being disturbed by a Japanese nightmare. [Laughter.] It is astounding when we stop to think of the extent to which we have gone in preparing to defend ourselves against imaginary enemies.

I remember, as does the gentleman from Alabama, that it was only five years ago that the world first heard the word "Dreadnought." That was in November, 1906, when England launched her first Dreadnought. At that time the estimate of the navy department for the increase of the navy had been submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury for transmission to Congress. It did not include an estimate for a Dreadnought, but at that session of Congress, in order to compete with Great Britain, an attempt was made in this House to authorize the construction of a Dreadnought. The authorization was not secured, however, until the succeeding Congress. Since then we have been constructing two of these great battle-ships each year. I trust, Mr. Chairman, that the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee, providing that but one Dreadnought be authorized, will prevail.

## By War or Law?

BY REV. GEORGE L. CLARK.

*Sermon preached in the Congregational Church, Wethersfield, Conn., on Peace Sunday, December 18, 1910.*

Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called sons of God.—*Matthew 5: 8.*

In these days, so many centuries after the coming of the Prince of Peace, when fleet ships, steel rails, wires and wireless make all men neighbors and the gospel all men kin; when it is as easy for a merchant in Calcutta to buy an Underwood in Hartford as it was for Cornelius in Cæsarea to buy leather of Simon the tanner thirty miles away, it ought to be superfluous to ask afresh the question on which all civilization depends, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

It is hard to keep patient with men who repeat in a Rip Van Winklian way the antiquated phrases of brutal ages, "To be prepared for war is the surest way to preserve peace," "In peace prepare for war," "Our armaments are intended only for our protection, and are no menace to the nations." We would be tempted to leave such obsolete maxims to the tender mercies of Mr. Dooley were it not for the fact that so many are confused by them and do not realize that we are passing into a new age, and that before long battleships will appear as out of date as to us appear the red Indians who tomahawked our daring John Oldham.